

who was championing the people's cause against plutocracy.

Judge Parker has not been with us; he is not the one to speak today.

The democratic party has led this fight until it has stimulated a host of republicans to action. I will not say they have acted as they have because we acted first; I will say that at a later hour than we, they caught the spirit of the time and are now willing to trust the people with the control of their own government.

We have been travelling in the wilderness; we now come in sight of the promised land. During all the weary hours of darkness progressive democracy has been the people's pillar of fire by night; I pray you, delegates, now that the dawn has come, do not rob it of its well earned right to be the people's pillar of cloud by day.

THE ANTI-MORGAN-RYAN-BELMONT RESOLUTION

At the opening of the evening session of the Baltimore convention on Thursday, June 27, 1912, Mr. Bryan obtained recognition and addressed the chairman as follows:

"Mr. Chairman: I have here a resolution which should, in my judgment, be acted upon before a candidate for president is nominated, and I ask unanimous consent for its immediate consideration."

Chairman James—"Is there objection?"

"The chair hears none."

Mr. Bryan then read the resolution as follows: "Resolved, That in this crisis in our party's career and in our country's history this convention sends greetings to the people and assures them that the party of Jefferson and Jackson is still the champion of popular government and equality before the law. As proof of our fidelity to the people we hereby declare ourselves opposed to the nomination of any candidate for president who is a representative of, or under any obligation to, J. Pierpont Morgan, Thomas F. Ryan, August Belmont, or any other member of the privilege-hunting and favor-seeking class.

"Be it further resolved, That we demand the withdrawal from this convention of any delegate or delegates constituting or representing the above named interests.

Objection was immediately made and Mr. Bryan then moved to suspend the rules and adopt the resolution.

In support of his resolution Mr. Bryan said: "This is an extraordinary resolution, but extraordinary conditions require extraordinary remedies. We are now engaged in the conduct of a convention that will place before this country the democratic nominee, and I assume that every delegate in this convention is here because he wants that nominee elected.

"It is that we may advance the cause of our candidate that I present this resolution. There are questions of which a court takes judicial notice, and there are subjects upon which we can assume that the American people are informed. There is not a delegate in this convention who does not know that an effort is being made right now to sell the democratic party into bondage to the predatory interests of this country. It is the most brazen, the most insolent, the most impudent attempt that has been made in the history of American politics to dominate a convention, stifle the honest sentiment of a party and make the nominee the bond-slave of the men who exploit the country.

"I need not tell you that J. Pierpont Morgan, Thomas F. Ryan and August Belmont are three of the men who are connected with the great money trust now under investigation, and are despotic in their rule of the business of the country and merciless in their command of their slaves.

"Some one has said that we have no right to demand the withdrawal of delegates who come here from a sovereign state.

"I reply that if these men are willing to insult six and a half million of democrats by coming here we ought to be willing to speak out against them and let them know we resent the insult.

"I, for one, am not willing that Thomas F. Ryan and August Belmont shall come here with their paid attorneys and seek secret counsel with the managers of our party. No sense of politeness or courtesy to such men will keep me from protecting my party from the disgrace that they bring upon it.

"I can not speak for you. You have your own responsibility, but if this is to be a convention

run by these men; if our nominee is to be their representative and tool, I pray you to give us, who represent constituencies that do not want this, a chance to go on record with our protest against it. If any of you are willing to nominate a candidate who represents these men or who is under obligation to these men, do it and take the responsibility. I refuse to take that responsibility.

"Some have said that we have no right to demand the withdrawal of delegates from this convention. I will make you a proposition. One of these men sits with New York and the other with Virginia. If the state of New York will take a poll of its delegates and a majority of them—not Mr. Murphy, but a majority of the delegates—I repeat, if New York will on roll call where her delegates can have their names recorded and printed, ask for the withdrawal of the name of Mr. Belmont; and if Virginia will on roll call ask the withdrawal of the name of Mr. Ryan, I will then withdraw the latter part of the resolution, which demands the withdrawal of these men from the convention. I will withdraw the last part at the request of the states in which these gentlemen sit, but I will not withdraw the first part that demands that our candidate shall be free from alliance with them."

Answering a criticism made of him by Mr. Flood, of Virginia, Mr. Bryan said:

"It is not necessary for the gentleman from Virginia to deliver a eulogy upon his state. My father was born in Virginia and no one has greater reverence for that great commonwealth than I. I know, too, the sentiment of the people of Virginia. They have not only supported me in three campaigns, but in the last campaign they refused to allow their leading men to go to the convention except under instructions to vote for my nomination.

"Neither is it necessary for me to defend my reputation as a democrat. My reputation would not be worth defending if it were necessary to defend it against a charge made against me by any friend of Thomas F. Ryan."

Answering an argument made by Mr. McCorkle of West Virginia, to the effect that the resolution was senseless and foolish, Mr. Bryan said:

"The resolution is not only sober and serious, but it is necessary. We plant ourselves upon the Bible doctrine, 'If thy right hand offend thee, cut it off.' The party needs to cut off those corrupting influences to save itself."

Before the vote was taken Mr. Bryan withdrew the latter part of his resolution in order that honest friends might not be embarrassed by the argument that the demand for withdrawal of the offending delegates invaded the rights of the state, and in order that the second part of the resolution might not be used as an excuse by those who desired to vote against the main resolution.

When the latter part was withdrawn, the first resolution, pledging the party not to nominate a candidate who was a representative of, or under obligation to, Morgan, Ryan, Belmont, or any other member of the privilege-hunting and favor-seeking class, was adopted by a vote of 889 to 196.

MR. BRYAN EXPLAINS HIS VOTE

When Nebraska was called on the fourteenth ballot a poll was demanded and Mr. Bryan, in changing his vote, made the following explanation:

"Nebraska is a progressive state. Only twice has she given her vote for a democratic candidate for president—in 1896 and 1908—and on both occasions her vote was cast for a progressive ticket running upon a progressive platform. Between these two elections, in the election of 1904, she gave a republican plurality of 85,000 against a democratic reactionary. In the recent primary the total vote cast for Clark and Wilson was over 34,000 and the vote cast for Harmon something over 12,000, showing that the party is now nearly three-fourths progressive.

"The republican party of Nebraska is progressive in about the same proportion, and the situation in Nebraska is not materially different from the situation throughout the country west of the Alleghanies. In the recent republican primaries, fully two-thirds of the republican vote was cast for candidates representing progressive policies.

"In this convention the progressive sentiment is overwhelming. Every candidate has proclaimed himself a progressive—no candidate would have any considerable following in this convention if he admitted himself out of harmony with progressive ideas. By your resolu-

tion, adopted night before last, you, by a vote of more than four to one, pledged the country that you would nominate for the presidency no man who represented, or was obligated to Morgan, Ryan, Belmont, or any other member of the privilege-seeking, favor-hunting class. This pledge, if kept, will have more influence on the result of the election than the platform or the name of the candidate. How can that pledge be made effective? There is but one way, namely, to nominate a candidate who is under no obligation to those whom these influences directly or indirectly control. The vote of the state of New York in this convention, as cast under the unit rule, does not represent the intelligence, the virtue, the democracy or the patriotism of the ninety men who are here. It represents the will of one man—Charles F. Murphy—and he represents the influences that dominated the republican convention at Chicago and are trying to dominate this convention. If we nominate a candidate under conditions that enable these influences to say to our candidate, 'Remember, now, thy creator,' we can not hope to appeal to the confidence of the progressive democrats and republicans of the nation.

"Nebraska, or that portion of the delegation for which I am authorized to speak, is not willing to participate in the nomination of any man who is willing to violate the resolution adopted by this convention and accept the high honor of the presidential nomination at the hands of Mr. Murphy. When we were instructed by Mr. Clark, the democratic voters who instructed us did so with the distinct understanding that Mr. Clark stood for progressive democracy. Mr. Clark's representatives appealed for support on no other ground. They contended that Mr. Clark was more progressive than Mr. Wilson, and indignantly denied that there was any cooperation between Mr. Clark and the reactionary element of the party. Upon no other condition could Mr. Clark have received a plurality of the democratic vote of Nebraska.

"The delegates for whom I speak stand ready to carry out the instructions given, in the spirit in which they were given and upon the conditions under which they were given; but these delegates will not participate in the nomination of any man whose nomination depends upon the vote of the New York delegation. Speaking for myself and those who join me, we, therefore, withhold our vote from Mr. Clark as long as New York's vote is recorded for him, and I hereby notify the chairman and this convention that I desire recognition to withdraw these votes from any candidates to whom New York's votes are thrown. The position that we take in regard to Mr. Clark we will take in regard to any other candidate whose name is now or may be before the convention. We shall not be parties to the nomination of any man, no matter who he may be or from what section of the country he comes, who will not, when elected, be absolutely free to carry out the anti-Morgan-Ryan-Belmont resolution and make his administration reflect the wishes and hopes of those who believe in a government of the people, by the people, and for the people.

"If we nominate a candidate who is under no obligation to these interests, which speak through Mr. Murphy, I shall offer a resolution authorizing and directing the presidential candidate to select a campaign committee to manage the campaign, in order that he may not be compelled to suffer the humiliation or act under the embarrassment that I have in having men participate in the management of his campaign who have no sympathy with the party's aims and in whose democracy the general public has no confidence."

At the conclusion of Mr. Bryan's statement ex-Governor McCorkle, of West Virginia, obtained recognition, and, with Mr. Bryan's consent, submitted the following question:

"Are we to understand from what you have said that you will not support the nominee of this convention if he is named by a majority made up in part of the vote of New York?"

Mr. Bryan: "I shall be pleased to answer the gentleman's question and before answering, will add that if any other gentleman in the convention has a question to ask I shall remain here and give him a chance to ask it. This is a democratic convention; we have a right to ask questions and we should be frank with each other.

"Answering the gentleman from West Virginia, I would reply that nothing that I have said this morning and nothing that I have ever said heretofore justifies the construction which the gentleman would place upon my language. I distinguish between refusing to participate in